

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1069

INFO ALL EC CAPITALS 0090

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 14732

OSLO FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR EAID FR XA

SUBJECT: THIRD FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT

REFS: PARIS 14322, 14260, 13824 (ALL NOTAL)

SUMMARY: GISCARD'S PROPOSAL FOR A SPECIAL FUND FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT WAS THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE THIRD FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT. THE PROPOSAL WAS THE OUTGROWTH OF GOF EFFORTS IN THE WAKE OF ANGOLA TO FIND A WAY TO MAKE WESTERN ASSISTANCE MORE EFFECTIVE POLITICALLY. IT WAS APPROVED BY GISCARD AFTER HIS RECENT BREAKFAST WITH THE SECRETARY BUT IT DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN FULLY THOUGHT OUT, EITHER AS TO CONTENT OR ORGANIZATION. THE  
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SUMMIT PROVIDED THE PROPER ATMOSPHERE FOR LAUNCHING THE

IDEA WHICH COMPLEMENTED THE SECRETARY'S TRIP AS EVIDENCE OF A COMMON WESTERN RESPONSE TO AFRICAN NEEDS AND FEARS. A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS IN CARRYING OUT THE PROPOSAL ARE TOUCHED UPON. THE SUMMIT APPROVED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AFRICAN SOLIDARITY FUND, PROMISED FOR OVER A YEAR, TO WHICH FRANCE IS TO CONTRIBUTE AT LEAST 50 PERCENT. THE FRENCH ALSO WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FUND. THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE SUMMIT REPORTEDLY WAS EXCELLENT, IN PART DUE TO BROADER PARTICIPATION, INCLUDING LUSOPHONES, AND TO THE DIVERSITY OF PERSONALITIES AND VIEWPOINTS REPRESENTED. IT CALMED AFRICAN FEARS OF ABANDONMENT AND CREATED HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS OF INCREASED WESTERN ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA. THE SPECIAL FUND PROPOSAL WAS RECEIVED WARMLY BUT MANY QUESTIONS ABOUT IMPLEMENTING IT ARISE, AS WELL AS THE POSSIBILITY THAT AFRICAN HOPES CREATED BY THE IDEA MAY BE DASHED, THUS NEGATING GISCARD'S INTENTION. END SUMMARY.

1. THE MAY 10-11 FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT'S MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT WAS GISCARD'S LAUNCHING OF THE IDEA THAT "A FUND, HAVING LARGE RESOURCES, OUGHT TO BE ESTABLISHED BY THE INDUSTRIALIZED STATES WHICH HAVE HISTORIC TIES WITH AFRICA, WHICH THE UNITED STATES MIGHT ALSO JOIN". THE POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR GISCARD'S PROPOSAL WAS CLEARLY THE DESIRE TO REASSURE THE AFRICANS IN THE WAKE OF THE WESTERN DEFEAT IN ANGOLA THAT THE WEST CARES AND INTENDS TO DO SOMETHING BEYOND WORDS TO SUPPORT AFRICAN MODERATES.

2. SPECIAL FUND FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT: ACCORDING TO DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA, MICHEL REMOVILLE, THE QUAI, IN PREPARATION FOR THE SUMMIT, HAD BEEN STUDYING VARIOUS WAYS WESTERN EFFORTS, SUCH AS THE PROGRAMS ALREADY UNDERWAY FOR THE SAHEL AND ZAIRE AND ZAMBIA, MIGHT BE MADE MORE POLITICALLY EFFECTIVE. IT BECAME CLEAR THAT FRANCE ALONE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO DO ENOUGH AND THAT A MULTILATERAL EFFORT WAS REQUIRED. FOLLOWING GISCARD'S BREAKFAST WITH THE SECRETARY ON MAY 7, THE ELYSEE DIRECTED THAT THE PROPOSAL FOR A NEW FUND BE CONFIDENTIAL

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INCLUDED IN GISCARD'S SUMMIT SPEECH. QUAI AND PRESS ASSUME IT RECEIVED AN AMERICAN BLESSING.

3. REMOVILLE SAID THAT THE GOF DOES NOT YET HAVE SPECIFIC IDEAS ON EXACTLY WHAT THE FUND SHOULD DO BEYOND THE CONCERNS MENTIONED BY GISCARD (OPENING LAND-LOCKED COUNTRIES BY ROAD AND RAIL, FIGHTING DROUGHT, SPREADING MODERN AGRICULTURAL TECHNIQUES, AND EXPLOITING

MINERAL RESOURCES) OR ABOUT ITS ORGANIZATION. THE  
IMPORTANT THING WAS THAT THE SUMMIT CREATE THE PROPER  
AMBIANCE FOR LAUNCHING THE IDEA AND THAT THE FUND BE  
SEEN BY THE AFRICANS AS A COMMON WESTERN RESPONSE TO  
THEIR NEEDS AND FEARS. THE FRENCH MADE NO MENTION OF  
ANGOLA AT THE SUMMIT, BUT IT WAS ON EVERYONE'S MIND.  
REMOVILLE SAID THE FRENCH BELIEVE THAT THE SUMMIT  
ATMOSPHERE WAS INDEED FAVORABLE TO THE INITIATIVE AND

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THAT ITS TIMING ON THE HEELS OF THE SECRETARY'S TRIP TO  
AFRICA RE-ENFORCED THE TWO COUNTRIES' EFFORTS TO  
ACHIEVE A COMMON GOAL.

4. REMOVILLE INDICATED THAT THE FRENCH ALSO HAVE NO

FIXED IDEA ON THE SIZE OF THE SPECIAL FUND OR ON HOW CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE MADE, I.E., VOLUNTARILY OR BY QUOTAS DETERMINED AMONG THE DONOR COUNTRIES. THE FRENCH INTEND TO DISCUSS THIS WITH THEIR EUROPEAN PARTNERS, AS WELL AS THE U.S. AND, PERHAPS, JAPAN AND CANADA. EC MEMBERS WERE GIVEN AN INITIAL BRIEFING IN PARIS LAST FRIDAY (MAY 14). REMOVILLE NOTED THAT SEVERAL EC REPRESENTATIVES WERE PIQUED AT THE LACK OF PRIOR CONSULTATION, SOMETHING WE HAVE ALSO OBSERVED IN BRITISH AND GERMAN DIPLOMATS HERE. (THEIR PIQUE HAS BEEN HEIGHTENED BY WHAT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN A FRENCH CONFIDENTIAL

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DECISION TO DISCUSS THE MATTER IN ADVANCE WITH THE U.S. BUT NOT WITH FRANCE'S EC PARTNERS).

5. THE NEW FUND'S RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER AID ORGANIZATIONS, ESPECIALLY TO THE EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT FUND, IS NOT CLEAR BUT REMOVILLE SAID THE LATTER IS TOO HEAVY AND SLOW ADMINISTRATIVELY TO PRODUCE THE MULTILATERAL POLITICAL EFFECT THE FRENCH ARE SEEKING.

6. REMOVILLE ACKNOWLEDGED THE SEEMING INCONSISTENCY IN FRENCH POLICIES WHICH OPPOSED IN NAIROBI THE CREATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES BANK ON THE GROUNDS THAT THERE ARE ALREADY ENOUGH SUCH INSTITUTIONS AND, THREE DAYS LATER, PROPOSED IN PARIS THE CREATION OF ANOTHER ONE. HE ALSO ADVANCED THE NOTION THAT THOSE IN THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WHO RECENTLY FAVORED BILATERAL AND NOT A CONSORTIUM APPROACH TO ZAIRE NOW SEE THAT A GLOBAL WESTERN EFFORT IS NECESSARY IN AFRICA.

7. THE QUAI THINKS THAT THE FUND SHOULD BE DESTINED NOT ONLY FOR FRANCE'S "FAITHFUL FRIENDS" LIKE THE IVORY COAST AND SENEGAL, BUT OTHERS AS WELL. (REMOVILLE MENTIONED ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA). WHILE ANY APPEARANCE THAT THE FUND IS POLITICAL MUST BE AVOIDED, REMOVILLE SAID, THE FUND COULD SERVE AS A SERIOUS COUNTERWEIGHT TO "OTHER INFLUENCES" AND, FROM THE FRENCH PERSPECTIVE, OPEN NEW DOORS POLITICALLY, ESPECIALLY IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING AFRICA.

8. THE PRINCIPAL STUMBLING BLOCK WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT TO INCREASED FRENCH AID TO AFRICA HAS BEEN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE. REMOVILLE SAID THAT FINANCE'S RESISTANCE TO GREATER FRENCH LARGESSE, THROUGH BOTH THE NEW FUND AND OTHER CHANNELS, HAS BEEN "LARGELY OVERCOME" BY PRESIDENTIAL FIAT. BUT FINANCE, AS WELL AS THE QUAI, THE MINISTRY OF COOPERATION, AND OTHER AGENCIES, EXPECTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE REFINEMENT OF

GISCARD'S PROPOSITION.

9. OTHER ECONOMIC FUNDS: THE AFRICAN SOLIDARITY FUND  
PROMISED AT THE LAST SUMMIT IN BANGUI WAS FINALLY  
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APPROVED IN PARIS. REMOVILLE SAID FRANCE WILL CONTRIB-  
UTE HALF OF THIS FUND'S CAPITAL OF 100 MILLION FRANCS;  
HOWEVER, FINANCE SOURCES INDICATE THAT THE  
TOTAL FUND LEVEL HAS NOT YET BEEN AGREED AND THAT THE  
AFRICANS WANT FRANCE TO CONTRIBUTE A LARGER SHARE.  
COMMENT: THE DECISION PROBABLY WILL HAVE TO BE MADE  
BY GISCARD.

10. FRANCE ALSO PLEDGED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE AFRICAN  
DEVELOPMENT FUND. REMOVILLE SAID FRANCE WILL GIVE AN  
AMOUNT EQUAL TO GERMANY'S CONTRIBUTION (ABOUT 17 MILLION  
DOLLARS); AGAIN, FINANCE MINISTRY SOURCES DO NOT AGREE,  
SAYING FRANCE'S PART WILL BE "SYMBOLIC". COMMENT:  
ANOTHER ONE FOR GISCARD.

11. ATMOSPHERICS: THE FRENCH RECEIVED THE AFRICAN  
VISITORS WITH THE DEFERENCE AND POMP DUE THEIR RANK AND  
DESIGNED TO CREATE THE "RIGHT" ATMOSPHERE. GISCARD  
RECEIVED HEADS OF MOST DELEGATIONS IN PRIVATE AND  
OTHER FRENCH MINISTERS HELD LONG CONVERSATIONS WITH  
THEM. REMOVILLE DESCRIBED THE SUMMIT AS A "REAL  
SUCCESS", MORE SO THAN THE TWO EARLIER GATHERINGS. HE  
SAID THE AFRICANS WERE MUCH MORE AT EASE AND ASCRIBED  
THIS TO THE GREATER NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (19 AFRICAN  
DELEGATIONS) AND TO THE DIVERSITY OF PERSONALITIES,  
REGIMES, AND VIEWPOINTS REPRESENTED. ALL SEEMED "HAPPY  
TO MEET TOGETHER WITH THE FRENCH, AS EQUALS". HE HAD

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THE IMPRESSION THAT THE FRANCOPHONES WELCOMES THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE GROUP TO INCLUDE THE LUSOPHONES WHO BROUGHT A BREATH OF FRESH AIR AND A FORWARD-LOOKING PERSPECTIVE TO THE DELIBERATIONS. THIS "OXYGEN" GAVE A REAL CREATIVITY TO THE DISCUSSIONS. MODERATES LIKE HOUPHOUET AND SENGHOR EXCHANGED IDEAS WITH "PROGRESSIVES" FROM MALI, BENIN, GUINEA-BISSAU AND CAPE VERDE, WHILE TRAOIRE AND LAMIZANA SAT DOWN TOGETHER AND BURIED THE FRONTIER AX.

12. MOST OF THE OPEN DISCUSSIONS CENTERED ON DEVELOPMENT AND OTHER ECONOMIC PROBLEMS; HALF OF THEM WERE DEVOTED TO THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER. ACCORDING TO REMOVILLE, THEY CENTERED ON SPECIFIC PROBLEMS, SUCH AS COMMODITY AGREEMENTS, AND EACH SPEAKER DEVELOPED HIS DETAILED CONCERNS (SENGHOR ON CONFIDENTIAL

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PEANUTS, HOUPHOUET AND OTHERS ON WOOD, ETC.). THE "MAJESTIC BUT NOT INTIMIDATING" FRAMEWORK FOR THE MEETINGS (THE ELYSEE AND VERSAILLES PALACES) DID THE REST, REMOVILLE SAID, AND THE AFRICAN PARTICIPANTS APPEARED GENUINELY DELIGHTED AS THEY SAID GOODBY TO THEIR FRENCH GUESTS AFTER THE FINAL DINNER GIVEN AT -- VERSAILLES.

13. COMMENT: REMOVILLE'S ACCOUNT GILDS THE LILY, BUT WE SHARE HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE SUMMIT WAS A GENUINE SUCCESS. IT HELPED CALM MODERATE AFRICAN FEARS ABOUT BEING ABANDONED BY THE FRENCH AND CREATED THE HOPE AND EXPECTATION OF MARKEDLY INCREASED FRENCH (AND WESTERN) ASSISTANCE FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTAL AND OTHER PROBLEMS. THE PRESS HAS CALLED IT A NEW-STYLE MARSHALL PLAN.

14. THE SPECIAL FUND MADE THE DESIRED INITIAL POLITICAL IMPACT BUT THERE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN LITTLE THOUGHT GIVEN TO IMPLEMENTATION. KEY GOF MINISTRIES (FINANCE, COOPERATION, AND QUAI) HAVE NO CLEAR IDEA AS YET ABOUT THE PRUPOSE, PARTICIPATION, SIZE, OR INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NEW FUND. EVEN ELYSEE STAFF SEEM STILL TO BE IN THE DARK. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PRESS IS ALREADY SAYING THAT THIS NEW EMPHASIS ON AFRICA WILL MEAN NO FRENCH CONTRIBUTION TO THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK.

15. MANY TROUBLING QUESTIONS ARISE IN EXAMINING THE FUND IDEA AS OUTLINED BY GISCARD AND EXPLAINED, TO NO ONE'S SATISFACTION, BY FRENCH OFFICIALS WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED. THE PRIMARY ONE, OF COURSE, IS WHETHER THE HOPES RAISED BY THIS FRENCH (OR FRANCO-AMERICAN, AS SOME WOULD HAVE IT) INITIATIVE CAN BE FULFILLED GIVEN THE FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL RESTRAINTS UNDER WHICH FRANCE, THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES MUST NOW OPERATE. IF THESE HOPES ARE DASHED, THE SPECIAL FUND FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT MAY PROVE TO BE ANOTHER AT-FIRST-BLUSH USEFUL IDEA WHICH DOES MORE HARM THAN GOOD.  
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